

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 GABORO 00866 281934Z
ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-15 NSCE-00 AID-01

IO-06 SSO-00 /038 W

-----015111 281942Z /46

O R 281526Z MAR 78

FM AMEMBASSY GABORONE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1887

INFO AMCONSUL CAPETOWN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DARESSALAAM

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LILONGWE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L GABORONE 0866

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV SF BC

SUBJECT: SOUTH AFRICA: CONVERSATION BETWEEN MINISTER MOGWE AND
CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ

REF: GABORONE 0854

1. AFTER MORE THAN AN HOUR'S DISCUSSION ON RHODESIA ON
MARCH 27 WITH MINEXTAFF MOGWE AND ADVISERS, REPORTED REFTEL,
VISITING CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ TURNED TO SUBJECT OF SOUTH AFRICA.
SOLARZ SAID SOUTH AFRICA HAD BEEN DESCRIBED AS ON THE VERGE
OF ERUPTION. WOULD THERE LIKELY BE A LIBERATION STRUGGLE AS
IN OTHER SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES OR COULD THE ARIKAANERS
CONTAIN IT, SOLARZ ASKED.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 GABORO 00866 281934Z

2. MOGWE REPLIED THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS MADE CHANGES,
EVEN IF ONLY "COSMETIC". PREVIOUS DAY MOGWE HAD
LISTENED TO REPORT OF SOCCER MATCHES BETWEEN BLACK AND
WHITE TEAMS. THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME HE HAD HEARD SUCH
MATCHES WERE TAKING PLACE. SO THERE IS SLOW CHANGE,
MOGWE SAID. THE TROUBLE IS THAT SAG IS SIMULTANEOUSLY
CREATING BANTUSTANS WHICH GREATLY COMPLICATE SITUATION.

IF SOUTH AFRICA REMAINED INTACT AS A GEOGRAPHIC ENTITY, MOGWE WOULD SAY: "LET'S KEEP UP THE TEMPO OF CHANGE." IF THAT COULD BE DONE, HE BELIEVED THERE WOULD BE "NO OPEN WAR". IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, BANTUSTANS ARE "ACCEPTED" AND SOUTH AFRICA BECOMES A "WHITE STATE", IT WOULD MEAN BLACKS COULD NO LONGER GO AND WORK THERE. CONDITION OF BANTUSTAN LIFE WOULD BE SUCH THAT BLACKS WOULD NOT ACCEPT IT. BLACKS REGARD "THE WHOLE OF SOUTH AFRICA AS THEIR HOME". A STRUGGLE IS BEING WAGED IN SOUTH AFRICA. MOGWE SAID HE DID NOT KNOW IF ARMED STRUGGLE WAS APPROPRIATE. HE KNEW THE TERRAIN WAS NOT SUITABLE; THE COUNTRYSIDE IS "NATURALLY DEFOLIATED". URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE IS POSSIBLE. ACTS OF SABOTAGE WILL NO DOUBT OCCUR AND LIFE IN SOUTH AFRICA WILL BECOME "UNCOMFORTABLE". THE YOUNGER GENERATION WILL NOT ACCEPT TRANSKEI, BOPHUTHATSWANA AND OTHER HOMELANDS. IN SUMMARY, WHILE RULING OUT CONVENTIONAL WAR, MOGWE FELT URGAN GUERRILLA ACTIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE.

3. URBAN BLACKS. SOLARZ SAID THE PLIGHT OF SIX MILLION URBAN BLACKS POSED A REAL PROBLEM. IT WAS DIFFICULT TO SEE HOW THEY COULD ACCEPT THE IDEA OF BANTUSTANS, ESPECIALLY WHEN IT WAS APPARENT THAT THEY WERE BEING CREATED AS AN EXCUSE FOR DEALING WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S PROBLEM. BANTUSTANS DO NOT SOLVE PROBLEM OF URBAN BLACKS, SOLARZ SAID. MOGWE AGREED, ADDING THAT THERE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 GABORO 00866 281934Z

HAS BEEN NO MOVEMENT TO BOPHUTHATSWANA OR TRANSKEI EITHER BY YOUTH OR OLDER PEOPLE WHO MIGHT REGARD IT AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO AVOID AFRIKAANER DOMINATION. SO "THE STRUGGLE IS CONTINUING". DID THE MINISTER THINK IT WOULD BE AN ARMED STRUGGLE, SOLARZ ASKED. MOGWE SAID HE DID NOT RULE OUT A "FIGHTING WAR" BUT AGAIN THOUGHT URBAN GUERRILLA WARFARE WAS POSSIBLE.

4. LEGAL PRESSURES. SOLARZ SAID THERE WAS WIDESPREAD "IMMORAL OUTRAGE" AMONG AMERICAN PEOPLE AND IN THE CONGRESS WITH SAG POLICIES. HIS COMMITTEE (HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE) WAS SEEKING TO DEVISE A STRATEGY TO PROMOTE MAJORITY RULE. SPECIFICALLY, SOLARZ ADDED, HIRC IS CONSIDERING PROHIBITION OF NEW US INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA AND REQUIREMENT THAT EXISTING COMPANIES COMPLY WITH A CODE OF CONDUCT. SOLARZ NOTED THERE WERE TWO ARGUMENTS AGAINST PROPOSED LEGISLATION: FIRST, THAT IT WOULD HAVE NO IMPACT, SECOND, THAT IT WOULD ONLY DRIVE SOUTH AFRICA DEEPER INTO THE LAAGER. SOME PEOPLE SUGGEST WE SHOULD EXPAND ECONOMIC CONTACTS. WHAT DID MOGWE THINK? MOGWE QUESTIONED DESIRABILITY OF EXPANDING CONTACTS. IT WAS TRUE, HE ADDED, THAT IN THE EVENT OF

BOYCOTT OR LIMITING INVESTMENT, BLACKS WILL SUFFER,
THIS IS TRUE EVEN FOR BOTSWANA, AS SAG NEVER CEASES TO
POINT OUT IN ITS OPPOSITION TO BOYCOTTS. ON THE OTHER
HAND, MOGWE ADDED, IF INSTEAD OF EXPANDING INVESTMENT AND
INDUSTRIES IN SOUTH AFRICA, YOU BRING INDUSTRIES TO
BOTSWANA, "WE WON'T SUFFER". IT WOULD REFUTE SAG
ARGUMENT THAT NEIGHBORS WOULD SUFFER MORE THAN SAG.
IN OTHER WORDS, THE ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE TO DEVELOP INDUSTRIES IN
SURROUNDING COUNTRIES. AS FOR EFFECT OF WITHDRAWING
ECONOMIC/FINANCIAL SUPPORT, MOGWE SAID IT WAS "A MYTH"
TO SAY SUCH WITHDRAWALS DO NOT HURT SOUTH AFRICA. EVEN
IAN SMITH ADMITS SANCTIONS HAVE BEEN "DISTURBING" AND
HAVE PLAYED A ROLE IN FORCING CONCESSIONS. ON THE
OTHER HAND, EVEN UNLIMITED EXPANSION OF TRADE AND
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 GABORO 00866 281934Z

INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA WILL NOT CHANGE SAG POLICIES.
SOLARZ FOCUSED HIS QUESTION: "SHOULD US PROHIBIT
INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA? DOES IT MAKE SENSE?"
MOGWE'S REPLY: "YES, BUT BE SURE TO STRENGTHEN
NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES."

5. EFFECTS. SOLARZ ASKED WHAT WOULD BE GAINED BY
WITHHOLDING INVESTMENT? MOGWE SAID IT IS AN INDICATION
OF RESENTMENT. IT IS A WAY OF DECLARING: "WE DON'T
LIKE YOUR POLICIES." PARTICULARLY IF ACCCOMPANIED BY
INVESTMENT ELSEWHERE NEARBY SAG WILL KNOW IT HAS LOST INVESTMENT
THAT WOULD OTHERWISE HAVE GONE TO SOUTH AFRICA. SOLARZ ASKED
WHAT THE SHORT RUN IMPACT WOULD BE. MOGWE REPLIED THAT IMPACT OF
US POLICIES, VIS-A-VIS SAG, THUS FAR IS SUCH THAT
"YOU CANNOT SAY YOU HAVE ACHIEVED NOTHING". SOME CHANGE
HAS TAKEN PLACE. THE SOUTH AFRICANS, EVEN THE MOST
"THICK SKINNED" AMONG THEM, REALIZE THAT THEY CANNOT
IGNORE US POWER AND INFLUENCE.

6. FOR LUSAKA. PLEASE PASS A COPY OF THIS MESSAGE TO
REP. SOLARZ IN ACCORDANCE WITH HIS REQUEST.

NORLAND

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INDEPENDENCE, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 28 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978GABORO00866
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780135-0407
Format: TEL
From: GABORONE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780319/aaaaaqax.tel
Line Count: 158
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: d54a81bc-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION H
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: 78 GABORONE 854
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3186073
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOUTH AFRICA: CONVERSATION BETWEEN MINISTER MOGWE AND CONGRESSMAN SOLARZ
TAGS: PDEV, OREP, SF, BC
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/d54a81bc-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014